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effective for reform. The "wheel-horses" and "practical men" in the New York convention of 1871 were aghast to hear what fell from the lips of the titular head of their party. To quote his own fine words:—

"I told them that I felt it to be my duty to oppose any man who would not go for making the government of this city what it ought to be, at whatever cost, at whatever sacrifice. If they did not deem that 'regular,' I would resign as chairman of the state committee, and take my place in the ranks of my plundered fellow-citizens and help them to fight their battle of emancipation."

"A million of people," he said later, "were not to be given over to pillage to serve any party expediency or to advance any views of state or national politics." In 1875, when he was Democratic governor, and likely to be the presidential candidate of his party, he told the people of Buffalo how little he thought of "regularity" when it was a livery worn to serve the devil in. "When the parties to which you belong come to make their nominations," he said, "if there be on the ticket any one not true to you, you have but to exercise the reserved right of the American citizen, — to vote for somebody else." And yet within a few years of his death men of the very class to whom Tilden was a relentless foe, invoked the prestige of his name in behalf of party "regularity" intended to shield the iniquities of municipal misgovernment.

The relatives who seized under the technique of testamentary law what they had not earned and what they knew was, by him who had earned it, meant for others, seriously diminished the noble monument of benefaction to the city of his career, which Tilden intended. But American history, more enduring than the marble walls, pictured by Mr. Bigelow as housing a great Tilden free library, will not soon let fade away the memory of this feeble, suffering man, the memory of his high-minded determination, shrinking from neither labor nor odium, the memory of his belief that the world could be made better, and the welfare of the masses of men greater, by sound and honest politics.

EDWARD M. SHEPARD.

Recollections of War Times; Reminiscences of Men and Events in Washington, 1860-1865. By ALBERT GALLATIN RIDDLE, formerly Member of the House of Representatives from the 19th District, Ohio. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895. Pp. xi, 380.)

IN printing his reminiscences of our heroic age Mr. Riddle has been moved by a realization of the importance of such personal experiences to the future historian. The local color so indispensable to faithful history is mainly to be derived from the records of men who were behind the scenes in the great acts of the political drama. Mr. Riddle was a leading Whig,

Free-soil and Republican politician in Ohio (the Western Reserve) before the war, was a member of the Thirty-seventh Congress (1861-63), on intimate terms with the executive and legislative leaders of the day, and continued after this to occupy an influential position in Republican party councils. He is especially concerned in his book to contribute something to an adequate conception of the work done by the Congress of which he was a member. The great measures by which this body set and kept the war in motion are recounted, though in a somewhat disjointed manner. But it is not so much in this field, which is covered by the official records, as in that of less public incidents that the author is interesting. He was a member of the Congressional delegation that went forth to see the rebellion crushed at Bull Run, and the unfortunate outcome of that famous adventure is graphically narrated. It was a distorted version of Mr. Riddle's conduct on this occasion, by a disgruntled office-seeker in Cleveland, that rendered a second term in Congress impossible. Experiences at the time of Early's invasion of Maryland and when President Lincoln was assassinated are also employed to illustrate an inherent pugnacity in the author's disposition, which, not afforded a military vent, has doubtless been ascountable in no small measure for the distinguished forensic reputation which he has acquired.

The political questions of the war time are treated by Mr. Riddle from the standpoint of an extreme abolitionist. This character, of course, was inevitable to one prominent in the Western Reserve. The author was leading counsel for the rescuers in the famous Oberlin-Wellington affair. He eulogized John Brown and his work at a meeting on the evening of the murderer's execution, in effusive terms which afterwards often returned to plague him. He cast one of the two negative votes in the House on the resolution of July 22, 1861, declaring the purpose of the war to be, not the overthrow of slavery, but only the maintenance of the Union; and he quietly enjoys in his book his ultimate triumph over those who violently censured his action. But, extreme as were his views on the matter of slavery, it is necessary to admit that they are recorded in the book as mere matters of history and are not allowed to detract from a notable tone of fairness and impartiality in the author's comments on those who differed from him. Where he disliked the policy of the President and the moderate party, he says so; but he calls no bad names.

The combination of anti-slavery fanaticism and party loyalty with the training of the constitutional lawyer in Mr. Riddle's make-up, has results in his book which are rather confusing, but which in this very fact faithfully reflect the conditions of the troublous times. Thus on page 40 he strongly approves the attitude of Stevens, Wade, and Stanton in that "no scruple of the written constitution troubled either of them" in combatting the rebellion; in Chapters XVII. to XIX., *passim*, he assails the conservative emancipation policy with elaborate arguments from this very constitution to show that extreme measures are lawful; on page 193 we learn that his legal instincts were revolted at the division of Virginia, but that

party feeling made him vote for the measure ; and in Chapter XLIII. he comes out very strongly against the administration's policy in the matter of military trials, approves the court's decision in the Milligan Case, and eulogizes Garfield's course in this case as having "restored to menaced rights the support of the law of the land." It is obvious that Mr. Riddle belonged to the class of people whose fervor in support of a higher law than the Constitution extended only to matters in which the blacks were concerned, and who found the old-fashioned constitutional law good enough for the ordinary white citizen.

In the author's contributions to the personal history of the times Wade and Stanton are his great heroes, and the war secretary's "liquid eyes" and "low sweet voice" figure largely in the book. Mr. Riddle attempts, in fact, a more or less systematic apology for Stanton, with whom he was in very friendly relations ; but the result will hardly be to change the general judgment up to date, that the dominion of the War Department was an effective, but often odiously unjust, tyranny. General Sherman is censured for his refusal to recognize Stanton at the grand review at the close of the war, as if the general's reason was merely that his agreement with Johnston had been overruled. As a fact, it was not against the secretary's official act, but against his private and even public aspersions on the general's motives, that the latter very properly manifested his resentment. Sherman's reputation insured him against such a fate as Stanton's malignant caprice had brought upon General Stone ; and the hero of Atlanta fully appreciated the fact and made the most of it.

As a prominent Ohio politician, Mr. Riddle played some part in the cabinet imbroglio in which the Blairs and Secretary Chase were concerned. His narrative on this point only gives a little clearer definition to the facts as already known. As to Sumner, the author's personal attitude is best indicated by the single passage devoted to it :—

"I was presented to the great Sumner, and did my poor best to propitiate and cultivate him. But I always had to tell him who I was, and he always asked what I had done to entitle me to his notice, and I always had to admit I had done nothing, and, as I was not born a courtier, I was obliged to give him up" (pp. 5, 6).

It is with a gusto to which the relation thus described probably contributes that Mr. Riddle tells a story concerning the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment in the House. Democratic votes were necessary to get the requisite two-thirds majority :—

"A New Yorker greatly desired a federal place in New York ; he had a brother, a Democrat, in the House, who was assured that his vote for the abolishing amendment would largely augment his brother's chances. There was also a contest for a seat in the next House—a Democrat in the present House was a party to that contest ; he came to see that the result would depend entirely upon his vote on the impending Thirteenth Amendment. It was found necessary to secure the absence of one Democrat from the House on the day of the vote. A railroad in Pennsylvania

was threatened with the passage of a bill by Congress greatly adverse to its interests. The bill was in Mr. Sumner's hands ready to be reported; the road had struggled to have action on the bill *deferred till the next Congress* — thus far without avail. The lawyer for the railroad was a Democratic member of the present House. . . . The two Democrats voted for the amendment, and the railroad's lawyer *was taken so ill* that he could not be carried to the House; the New Yorker had the coveted post; the Democrat secured his seat in the Thirty-ninth Congress, and the august Sumner *did not* report the bill during that session" (pp. 324-325).

The author does not vouch for the means employed to secure the Democrats, but considers that everything else, being a matter of record, warrants confidence in the truth of the story. Whether accurate or not, it is quite in line with one of the most familiar results of historical research — that the means through which epoch-making stages in the world's progress are definitely objectified in political institutions prove often to be sadly lacking in the dignity and moral grandeur which characterize the ends achieved.

Mr. Riddle has written an entertaining book, but it is too short. Certain suggestions as to his views on the questions of Reconstruction and as to his knowledge of the part played in the later days by the heroes of the war time, render it certain that he could throw some very valuable light on the period of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congresses.

WM. A. DUNNING.

A History of Newfoundland, from the English, Colonial, and Foreign Records. By D. W. PROWSE, Q.C., Judge of the Central District Court of Newfoundland. With a Prefatory Note by Edmund Gosse. With numerous illustrations and maps. (New York and London: Macmillan and Co. 1895. Pp. xxiii, 742.)

At the outbreak of the War of Secession, when nervous friends of the North advised it to let the South go, one of the answers given by the North was that it could not afford to part with the mouth of the Mississippi. Newfoundland, besides the fisheries, commands the mouth of the St. Lawrence; yet the present crisis in its history seems to be regarded by the American people and their government with less interest than the crisis in Hawaii. In Great Britain more interest is felt. The question of the fisheries, unlike most colonial questions, sensibly affects the British people. Imperialists are anxious for the completion of North American federation, and the attention of the Foreign Office is kept alive by the perennial blister of the French claims.

If American indifference is due to historical ignorance, it will be no longer pardonable, since in the portly volume before us Mr. Prowse, the Judge of the Central District Court of Newfoundland, appears to have gleaned all that the most exhaustive industry could collect from English, colonial, and foreign records, to throw light upon the history of Newfoundland. The